BLACK HISTORY MONTH SPECIAL ISSUE

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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"Most Important Political Trial Of This Era" To Begin Feb. 26

B.P.P. LAWYER: "PROSECUTION'S DESPERATE TACTICS SIGNAL VICTORY FOR HUEY"

(Oakland, Calif.) - Noting recent "desperate tactics" of law enforcement agencies to convict Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton on a 1974 trumped-up murder charge, Michael Kennedy, chief counsel for the BPP founder, has confidently predicted that his client will be acquitted when he comes to trial, which is scheduled to begin Monday, February 26.

In an exclusive interview with THE BLACK PANTHER, Kennedy was highly critical of the Alameda County district attorney's office and Deputy D.A. Thomas Orloff, in particular, for recently "finding" a third prostitute to testify against Huey in the Kathleen Smith murder trial. The false charge stems from an alleged August 6, 1974, incident on Oakland's San Pablo Avenue in which Huey is accused of shooting 17-year-old Smith, who was also a prostitute.

In mid-February, Orloff disclosed that a prostitute now serving a life sentence for murder would testify against Huey. Orloff said that Jeanette Iles, who is imprisoned at the Californ[illegible] Institute for Women at Frontera, did [illegible]ith's killing but will testify she saw long s[illegible]ach her fellow prostitute and pull a th[illegible]

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BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON (left) and his chief defense counsel, MICHAEL KENNEDY.

CALIF. COALITION FORMED TO FIGHT WEBER CASE

(Oakland, Calif.) - Denouncing the attack on "our right to eat," numerous Black, Native American, Chicano, Asian, labor, women's and church groups met here recently to launch a broad-based coalition to fight the Weber vs. Kaiser Aluminum case now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Black Panther Party was among the organizations who joined together to form the Northern California Coalition to Overturn the Weber Case at a meeting held in mid-February at East Oakland's Allen Temple Baptist Church. The meeting was called by the Caterpillar Anti-Discrimination Committee and the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD).

The newly formed Coalition immediately announced a March 31, Northern California Conference on Weber and the attack on affirmative action and a mid-May Bay Area mass demonstration. The demonstration will be coordinated with several other anti-Weber demonstrations to be held across the country.

The U.S. Supreme Court is expected to make a decision on the Weber case in late June.

Lorenza Carlisle, spokesperson for the Caterpillar Committee, opened the meeting with a challenge to participants. "The first question we must ask ourselves — we all start with ourselves as individuals — is what can I do to overturn the Weber decision?

"Most of you here today are leaders. We're going to have to

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KHOMEINI GOVERNMENT FIGHTS ENEMIES IN IRAN

(Tehran, Iran) - Iran's revolutionary government, led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, executed four more of former Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's generals, bringing to eight the number of pro-shah military commanders eliminated for their crimes against the Iranian people.

The Iran government also intensified diplomatic efforts to make the shah an international outcast. A foreign ministry statement said the government will bring pressure, presumably via its oil exports, on any country offering asylum to the shah, who is now staying in Morocco.

Khomeini was reported to have sent word in late February to the shah's host, Moroccan King Hassan, that he would demand the extradition of the former monarch to face trial for "crimes against the Iranian people."

The new foreign ministry announced that it had sent Hassan a message saying: "We will continue our efforts for the extradition and will force the shah into a situation in which he can go only to Johannesburg or Tel Aviv."

Exile for Pahlavi in Israel may be hard now that Iran has expelled all Israeli officials after breaking all relations with the zionist state. The same treatment is expected to be given shortly to South Africa.

Tehran Radio, reporting on a statement from the foreign ministry, said support for the Palestinian people is the main

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Editorial

THE SUBVERSION OF BLACK HISTORY MONTH

"We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society."

Point 5 of the Black Panther Party Program and Platform speaks to the need for *all* Americans to celebrate February as Black History Month. Since the early 1600's when Black people were brought from Africa as slaves to this country, the U.S. government has conspired to prevent us from knowing our true history. This conspiracy has largely been carried out by the public school system.

Half of this issue of THE BLACK PANTHER is devoted to the writings, speeches and poetry of a few of the outstanding Black men and women, who through a variety of ways, have fought for the freedom of our people. We pay tribute to them and the thousands of other Black people, who through the example of their lives, helped us to know our true history and how it relates to our role of oppression in present-day American society.

There is very little that escapes the clutches of American big business, and the celebration of Black history month is no exception. Nothing is sacred concerning Black people to the American government. During the month of February, we have had to endure the television commercials produced by McDonald's — one of the unhealthiest fast food eating chains in the country — "McDonald's Salutes Black History Month."

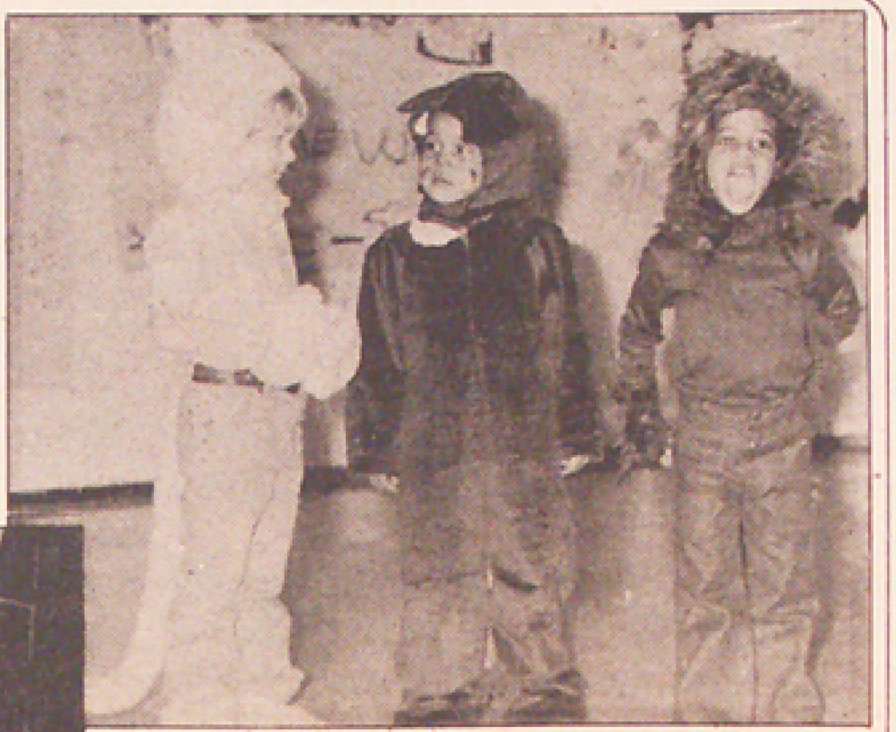
One of the most blatant outrages we have had to endure is that the overwhelming majority of Black and poor people will not get to view the King Tut exhibit when it comes to San Francisco in upcoming weeks. Several thousand applications for tickets ($4.50 each) for the exhibit were secured by mostly White people who had the leisure time to wait in long lines for the opportunity to see the great Black ruler of ancient Egypt.

Black history has been "lost," stolen and destroyed. We must do all in our power to ensure that our children will have the knowledge of themselves that will help them lead America and the world to freedom. □



History? Baby, Them White Folks Ain't Stopped Treating Us Like That!

O.C.L.C. Honors Huey, O.C.S. Presents Black History Bee







(Oakland, Calif.) - Black Panther Party President HUEY P. NEWTON (left) was presented with a plaque by Oakland Community School Director ERICKA HUGGINS (far left) on his 37th birthday on February 17 at a testimonial dinner honoring Oakland Community Learning Center's (OCLC's) eighth anniversary. Children from the Oakland Community School (OCS) performed the play the Wiz (top) and participated in a Black History Bee. BPINS photos

Comment:

Southern Africa: "Conditions Are Ripe For Victory"

The following editorial reprinted from the Tanzanian Sunday News *supports the call by the recent meeting of nonaligned countries in Mozambique to step up efforts in support of the armed liberation struggle in southern Africa.*

(The nonaligned movement's Coordinating Bureau on southern Africa ended its meeting in Maputo, Mozambique recently with an urgent appeal for member countries to intensify efforts in support of the liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

All through the meeting, the delegates dwelt on the serious aspects of the disconcerting situation in southern Africa still dominated by the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa.

Indeed, the final communique of the meeting has reaffirmed the backing of the 86 nonaligned countries for the most encouraging efforts of the liberation movements in southern Africa to achieve majority rule.

In the words of Mozambican President Samora Machel: "Whether the death agony of racism is to be shortened or prolonged, whether the price to be paid in blood is to be reduced depends on our joint action in support of the liberation struggle. The conditions are ripe for victory."

This is an undisputed fact. Even the hardcore racists in Rhodesia and South Africa, along with their supporters, are now fully aware that colonialism and apartheid in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are bound to be vanquished.

The excellent situation for revolution in southern Africa has been created by the liberation forces in the region. Guerrilla victories inside Rhodesia are dealing crippling blows to the beleaguered rebel regime and its Black collaborators.

To execute these armed liberation struggles in southern Africa, the fighting forces require solid rear bases and the material and moral support of all progressive forces. □

The Black Panther

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SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Community Pressure Wins Funding For Chicano School

(Oakland, Calif.) - Following stinging criticism and widespread pressure from the Chicano, Black and poor community here, the Oakland Board of Education recently voted to build two new education centers for preschool children.

Some $2.9 million will be spent on Centro Infantil Children's Center, attended by predominantly Spanish-speaking children, and Hoover Children's Center.

The community battle for decent facilities for Centro Infantil was particularly difficult, having been fought over a six-year period. Some 150 predominantly Chicano people, most of them parents of children at Centro Infantil, had to attend three consecutive meetings of the Oakland School Board to ensure that the seven-member board would approve the funds for a new school.

At one of these meetings, parents, children and supporters of Centro Infantil marched into the Board meeting loudly chanting their demand for a new school.

ANGRY PARENTS

Angry parent after angry parent spoke before School Board members, reminding them of a long string of broken promises the Board has made over the years concerning Centro Infantil.

Although financed by Oakland schools, Centro is largely community-run. Pre-school age children, ages two, three and four, are forced to attend classes in a building that once served as a warehouse. Parents pointed out that the building's heating system is totally inadequate and that there is only one bathroom for all the children in the school.

Several of the children of Centro Infantil went before the Board to demand that they be given a new school. In their short and simple statements, they clearly expressed their frustration at going to school in a cold, abandoned warehouse.

Among those who spoke in support of Centro Infantil parents and children was Oakland Community School Director Ericka Huggins. Ericka urged the Board to provide the funds needed for a new school.

The community had expected a decision by the Board at its January 31 meeting concerning Centro Infantil, but were outraged when conservative Board

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CALIFORNIA COALITION FORMED TO FIGHT WEBER CASE

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become agitators, and do some education and some organizing,'' Carlisle forcefully said.

The respected Black community leader then told of an incident involving a Black woman, who was elected as the first Black financial secretary of the International Association of Machinists. The woman Carlisle explained, was placed in an office apart from White women employed in the union office.

Angered at this blatant discrimination, Carlisle attempted to question union officials about it at the union meeting. When the officials refused to deal with the issue, Carlisle said, ''I became totally upset. I was enraged that we have segregation in our union at this late date.''

He went on to say that he criticized other Black men in his union local present at the meeting for not being as upset as he was.

night,'' Carlisle explained, ''maybe I'm deranged. Maybe something's wrong with me for carrying on this way. No one else seemed upset.''

The next day when he went to work at the Caterpillar plant, Carlisle said that one of his Black co-workers congratulated him for having spoken out at the previous night's meeting. ''Every Black man should have been upset over Sister Simmons being discriminated against,'' his friend said.

''There's a time to become upset, there's a time to become emotional, and if the Weber decision is going to be overturned, we all are going to have to get upset,'' Carlisle declared.

Bill Tamayo of NCOBD then explained the legal arguments in the Weber case. Brian Weber is a White worker at the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Company plant in Gramercy, Louisiana. Weber charges that a 1974 affirmative action program that the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) union local at the Gramercy plant forced Kaiser to enact ''discriminates'' against him by giving Black workers first consideration in promotions.

If the Supreme Court upholds the decisions made by lower courts which support Weber's position, then all job affirmative action programs in the country would be threatened.

Tamayo emphasized that the majority of federally negotiated affirmative action programs are voluntary. Therefore, if the right of unions to negotiate affirmative action programs with companies is taken away by the Supreme court in the Weber case, most employers can be expected to end other programs.

The demands of the Northern California Coalition to Overturn the Weber Case are: 1) Overturn the Weber case; 2) Defend and expand affirmative action; and 3) End economic discrimination against minorities and women.

Anyone wishing further information about the Coalition and its work may call (415) 465-6433.□



BPINS photos

Over 100 people met recently in East Oakland to form the Northern California Coalition to Overturn the Weber Case. Speakers included (left to right) JONINA ABRON, editor of THE BLACK PANTHER, LORENZA CARLISLE, spokesperson of the Caterpillar Antidiscrimination Committee and Dr. VICKI ALEXANDER, a representative of the Infant Mortality Coalition.

Striking Farmworkers Shut Down Winter Lettuce Harvesting

(El Centro, Calif.) - Harvesting of nearly all of the nation's winter lettuce was halted in mid-February when United Farm Workers (UFW) union members held a work stoppage to mourn a fellow worker shot to death during a bitter month-long strike.

''Virtually everything in the Imperial Valley is shut down,'' said Marc Grossman, a top aide to UFW leader Cesar Chavez.

The one-day walkout, which affected 30 growers, came in the midst of a strike by 4,200 UFW members against 10 major growers and shippers in California and Arizona who account for about 40 per cent of the nation's winter lettuce.

The work stoppage occurred two days after UFW striker Rufino Contreras, 27, was shot to death during a confrontation with growers at a farm outside Holtville.

To ease tensions, Chavez ordered an end to all picketing until Contreras was buried and called for a general work stoppage on the day of the funeral.

''Monday's walkout came as a surprise,'' Chavez said at the union's strike headquarters in Calexico, just across the border from Mexico. ''It was spontaneous. The workers just refused to board buses to go to the fields.''

The UFW has been highly successful in shutting down the 10 growers thus far in a step-by-step escalation of the month-long strike. Since the killing of Contreras, the sheriff's force has been tripled by calling in deputies from three surrounding counties.

The union is seeking a contract with 28 produce firms — about half of them local and the remainder ''global'' outfits that operate in Arizona and/or the California coastal valley.

About 7,000 of the 10,000 harvest workers here belong to the UFW, with about 4,300 on strike. Negotiations are underway with United Brand's Sun Harvest, Inc.

The UFW wants a three-year wage increase from the current average of $3.70 an hour to about $5.50 an hour.

At one point, Chavez threatened a nationwide boycott in response to threats made by the Ku Klux Klan that it would help growers. The UFW leader indicated that at least half of the security guards hired to work in the fields during the strike were members of or sympathizers of the KKK. □



Artist's conception of kidnapped Africans rebelling on a slave ship.

BLACK REBELLION IN AMERICA–1663 TO 1979

In tribute to a long, proud history of struggle against Black oppression, below we present a chronicle of Black rebellion from the introduction of Black people into this country to the present.

1663 — Servant betrays first serious plot of Black slaves and White servants in Gloucester, Virginia.

1687 — A planned uprising by a group of slaves to take place during a funeral was put down in northern Virginia.

1691 — Mingoe, an escaped slave from Middlesex County, and his followers attack White settlement in Rappahannock County, Virginia, for food and ammunition.

1711 — Sebastian, an escaped slave, leads maroon attacks on a White South Carolina community. In 1729, an Indian hunter tracks and kills him.

1712 — Slave revolt in New York results in the death of nine Whites and the execution of 21 slaves.

1730 — In Williamsburg, Virginia a Black rebellion was precipitated when a rumor circulated to the effect that all baptized persons would be set free.

1739 — Other revolts in South Carolina are squashed; 44 of a band on the way to St. Agustine, Florida perished in an ambush, more than 30 slaves led by Cato at Stono River are killed. A third insurrection with no record of casualties took place in Berkeley County, South Carolina.

1741 — Reports of slave conspiracy in New York City lead to execution of 31 slaves and five Whites.

1771 — Bands of fugitive slaves commit robberies in Savannah and Ebenezer, Georgia, leading to a joint effort by militiamen and Indians against them.

1786 — Band of slaves promised freedom for service by British, formed a group called soldiers of the King of England and carry on guerrilla warfare on banks of Savannah River. Their settlement is attacked by militia from Georgia and South Carolina, with heavy casualties suffered.

1792 — In Chesterfield and Charles City Counties, Virginia, maroons (people of mixed racial heritage) are tracked down after flurries of marauding. Ten runaways are captured due to use of dogs.

1795 — General of the Swamps, maroon leader, and five of his group are killed by hunting party.

1800 — Conspiracy of Gabriel Prosser and some 1,000 followers betrayed by two slaves. Gabriel and 15 others hanged.

1802 — Tom Copper, leader of maroon camp in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, instigates insubordination among slave population.

1811 — Slave revolt in Louisiana suppressed by U.S. troops.

1811 — A community of runaways settled in Cabarras County, North Carolina resolved to hold out against any force was wiped out.

1812 — During July, 80 slaves escape from Georgia to go east to Florida, arousing General Pinckney to send troops against them. In September, Captain Williams and 20 men, on their way to assist Colonel Smith, were routed, attacked and killed by maroons and Indians. In February 1813, after numerous battles a Black fort is destroyed.

1816 — Black fort on Appalachicola Bay destroyed by cannon after 10 days siege. Some 270 men, women and children were killed.

1816 — In Ashepoo, South Carolina a large maroon community which carried on continuing plundering missions is defeated by Major-Generaal Youngblood. Large numbers of Blacks are killed and captured.

1818 — Andrey, alias Billy James, a.k.a. Abaellino, leader of some 30 runaway slaves, has a $100 reward posted on him for carrying on attacks in Princess Anne County, Virginia.

1819 — The slave outlaw Harry, leader of a runaway slave company, is killed by Whites on an expedition against maroons. Harry had a reward of $200 on his

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"An Appeal To The Colored Citizens Of The World"

By David Walker

David Walker, a free Black man born in North Carolina in 1785, is the author of the following excerpts from "Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World" written in Boston in 1829. Walker's fiery statement calling on American slaves to rise up against their masters so frightened Southern Whites that the "Appeal" was banned from publication in many Southern states.

Walker, who owned an old clothes shop in Boston, was found dead in the doorway of his store on June 28, 1830, shortly after the publication of the third edition of the "Appeal."

The Americans of North and of South America, including the West India Islands — no trifling portion of whom were, for stealing, murdering, etc. compelled to flee from Europe, to save their necks or banishment, have effected their escape to this continent, where God blessed them with all the comforts of life. He gave them plenty of everything calculated to do them good.

Not satisfied with this, however, they wanted slaves, and wanted us for their slaves, who belong to the Holy Ghost, and no other, who we shall have to serve instead of tyrants.

But there is a day fast approaching, when (unless there is a universal repentance on the part of the Whites, which will scarcely take place, they have got to be so hardened in consequence of our blood, and so wise in their own conceit.) To be plain and candid with you, Americans! I say that the day is fast approaching, when there will be a greater time on the continent of America, than ever was witnessed upon this earth, since it came from the hand of its Creator.

Some of you have done us so much injury, that you will never be able to repent. Your cup must be filled. You want us for your slaves, and shall have enough of us. God is just, *who will give you your fill of us....*

The Americans say, that we are ungrateful, but I ask them for heaven's sake, what should we be grateful to them for? For murdering our fathers and mothers? Or do they wish us to return thanks to them for chaining and handcuffing us, branding us, cramming fire down our throats, or for keeping us in slavery and beating

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Sojourner Truth: "And Ain't I A Woman Too?"

When the leaders of a women's rights convention in May, 1851, saw a tall, gaunt Black woman march toward the speaker's platform they did not know what to expect. Sojourner Truth, mother and former New York slave, and one of the most outstanding women in Black history, had listened to male speakers state that women need not be given rights since they were mentally inferior to men. Following are excerpts from her immortal speech as reported by an eyewitness.

Wall chilern, whar dar is so much racket dar must be somethin' out o' kilter....What's all dis here talkin' 'bout?

Dat man ober day say dat womin needs to be helped into carriages,and lifted ober ditches, and to hab de best place everywhar. Nobody eber helps me into carriages, or ober mud-puddles, or gibs me any best place! And a'n't I a woman:

Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And a'n't I a woman?



SOJOURNER TRUTH

I could work as much and eat as much as a man — when I could get it — and bear de lash as well! And a'n't I a woman?

I have borne thirteen chilern, and seen 'em mos' all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And a'n't I a woman?

Den day talks 'bout dis ting in de head; what dis dey call it?" ("Intellect," whispered someone near.) "Dat's it, honey. What's dat got to do wid womin's rights...?

If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yourn holds a quart, wouldn't ye be mean not to let me have my little half measure full?"

Den dat little man in black

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"WHAT TO A SLAVE IS THE 4th OF JULY?"

By Frederick Douglass

Of all the Black people who raised their voices against slavery in 19th century America, none did so more eloquently than Frederick Douglass. The following are excerpts from a speech given by the famous Black orator and writer on July 4, 1852, before a large audience in Rochester, New York. Douglass' blistering attack on those who would celebrate "injustice" and "independence" while allowing over four million Black people to be enslaved rings true to this very day.

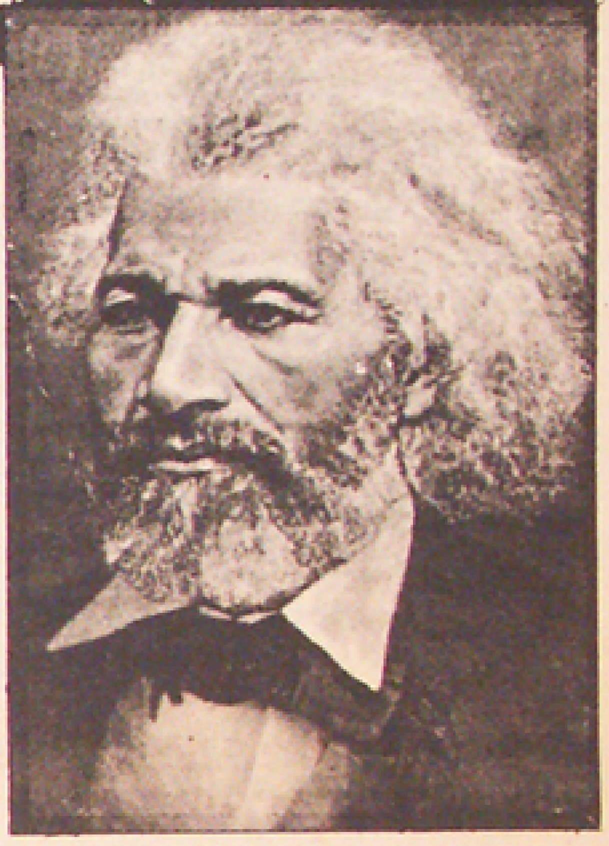
Fellow Citizens: Pardon me, and allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here today? What have I or those I represent to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us? And am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits, and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us?

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions. Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold that a nation's sympathy could not warm him? Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude, that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits? Who so stolid and selfish that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs? I am not that man.

...I say it with a sad sense of disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasureable distance between us. The blessings in which you this day rejoice are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence bequeathed by your fathers is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you has brought stripes and death to me.

This Fourth of July is *yours*, not *mine*. *You* may rejoice, *I* must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, was inhuman mockery and sacrilegeous irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak today? If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you, that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrecoverable ruin. I can today take up the lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people...





Artist's conception of the planning of the famous Nat Turner slave rebellion FREDERICK DOUGLASS (right).

Fellow citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are today rendered more intolerable by the jubilant shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!" To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God.

My subject, then, fellow citizens, is "American Slavery." I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing here, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July. Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future.

Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity, which is outraged, in the name of liberty, which is fettered, in the name of the Constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery — the great sin and shame of America! I will not equivocate.

For the present it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the Negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are plowing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver, and gold; that while we are reading, writing and cyphering, acting as clerks, merchants, and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators, and teachers; that while we are engaged in all the enterprises common to other men — digging gold in California, capturing whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hillside, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives, and children, and above all, confessing and worshipping the Christian God and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave — we are called upon to prove that we are men? □

"THE SONG OF THE SMOKE"

By Dr. W.E.B. DuBois

I am the smoke king,
I am black.
I am swinging in the sky.
I am ringing worlds on high:
I am the thought of the throbbing mills,
I am the soul of the soul toil kills
I am the ripple of trading rills,

Up I'm curling from the sod,
I am whirling home to God.
I am the smoke king,
I am black.

I am the smoke king,
I am black.
I am wreathing broken hearts,
I am sheathing devils' darts;
Dark inspiration of iron times,
Wedding the toil of toiling climes
Shedding the blood of bloodless crimes,

Down I lower in the blue,
Up I tower toward the true,
I am the smoke king,
I am black.

I am darkening with song,
I am hearkening to wrong;
I will be as black as blackness can,
The blacker the mantle the mightier the man,
My purpl'ing midnights no day may ban.

I am carving God in night,
I am painting hell in white.



W.E.B. DuBOIS

I am the smoke king,
I am black.

I am the smoke king,
I am black.

I am cursing ruddy morn,
I am nursing hearts unborn;
Souls unto me are as mists in the night,
I whiten my blackmen, I beckon my white,
What's the hue of a hide to a man in his might!
Hail, then, grilly, grimy hands,

Sweet Christ, pity toiling lands!
Hail to the smoke king,
Hail to the black!

"Letter From Birmingham Jail"

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unfortunate that the city's White power structure left the Negro community with no alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was "well timed" in view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation.

For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

We have waited for more than 340 years for our Constitutional and Godgiven rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.

There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

SHALLOW UNDERSTANDING

Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will.

Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open, where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured so long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must be exposed, with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience. □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

48-Year Jail Term For Black Youth

(Jackson, Miss.) - Pressure from Black leaders here recently forced Mississippi Governor Cliff Finch to transfer a 14-year-old Black youth serving a 48-year prison term from Parchman Prison to "a secure place other than the penitentiary." Robert Earl May, Jr., who is four feet, seven inches tall and weighs only 75 pounds, was sentenced to four consecutive, 12-year sentences after he and three of his young friends were forced to plead guilty to armed robbery charges. Under the harsh sentencing laws of the state, May is not eligible for parole.

Black Inmates Win Reprieve

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Black death row inmates Eugene Allen and Ernest Graham won reprieves from the California gas chamber in mid-February after the state supreme court overturned their murder convictions. The court found that the prosecutor excluded all potential Black jurors from the trial jury of the two Black men, who are presently held in San Quentin Prison. Allen and Graham, who will receive a new trial, were sentenced to die after they were convicted in the stabbing death of a White prison guard at Duel Vocational Institute at Tracy, California in November, 1973.

Illiteracy Rampant In U.S.

(Washington, D.C.) - America is "lapsing back into illiteracy," a well known author testified recently here before a Senate education subcommittee. Rudolf Flesch, author of the best-selling book, *Why Johnny Can't Read*, warned that the U.S might be in the position of many Third World countries unless there is a change in the method of teaching reading in U.S. schools. In 12 years, Flesch said, "we will have to import doctors, engineers and scientists... because we won't have enough."

School Segregation Continues

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has accused Congress of blocking integration of American public schools. In its recently released examination of federal desegregation efforts, the Commission said that Congress has "taken steps that severely impede" the ability of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to enforce the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Most severe segregation of schoolchildren occurs in the Northeast and North Central regions of the country, where 65 and 68 per cent of all minority students respectively attend at least "moderately" segregated school districts.

Nonmilitary Service For Youth?

(Washington, D.C.) - A national committee funded by the Ford Foundation has called for the use of one million young Americans in nonmilitary voluntary service. A 143-page report by the Committee for the Study of National Service suggested that the program could involve youth working in schools, daycare centers, hospitals, community health centers and other places. The Committee is divided over the question of whether the program should be compulsory.

Black Cancer Rate Rises

(Washington, D.C.) - Intense preventative and treatment programs aimed specifically at Black people are needed to stop the growing rate of cancer among Black Americans. Participants at the recent first American Cancer Society national conference on cancer and Blacks were told that current cancer prevention programs aimed at the general population miss Black people. In the last 25 years, the overall cancer rate for Blacks has risen eight per cent while for Whites it has dropped three per cent.

MARCUS GARVEY'S "FIRST MESSAGE TO THE NEGROES OF THE WORLD"

"IN DEATH I SHALL BE A TERROR TO THE FOES OF NEGRO LIBERTY"

In the first years of the 20th century, Marcus Garvey organized the largest mass movement in the history of Black America at that time. His United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was directed towards full liberation and freedom for Black people,

In January, 1922, federal officials arrested Garvey on charges of using the mail to defraud. Brought to trial and convicted on the trumped-up charges, he served nearly three years of a five-year sentence in Atlanta Penitentiary in Georgia.

The following essay was written by Garvey while he was imprisoned.



MARCUS GARVEY addresses rally.

Fellow Men of the Negro Race, Greeting:

I am delighted to inform you, that your humble servant is as happy in suffering from you and our cause as is possible under the circumstances of being viciously outraged by a group of plotters who have connived to do their worst to humiliate you through me, in the fight for real emancipation and African Redemption.

I do trust that you have given no credence to the vicious lies of White and enemy newspapers and those who have spoken in reference to my surrender. The liars plotted in every way to make it appear that I was not willing to surrender to the court.

I hadn't left the city for 10 hours when the liars flashed the news that I was a fugitive. That was good news to circulate all over the world to demoralize the millions of Negroes in America, Africa, Asia, the West Indies and Central America, but the idiots ought to know by now that they can't fool all the Negroes at the same time.

I do not want at this time to write anything that would make it difficult for you to meet the opposition of the enemy without my assistance. Suffice it to say that the history of the outrage shall form a splendid chapter in the history of Africa redeemed, when Black men will no longer be under the heels of others, but have a civilization and country of their own.

The whole affair is a disgrace, and the whole Black world knows it. We shall not forget. Our day may be 50, 100, or 200 years ahead, but let us watch, work and pray, for the civilization of injustice is bound to crumble and bring destruction down upon the heads of the unjust.

The idiots thought that they could humiliate me personally, but in that they are mistaken. The minutes of suffering are counted, and when God and Africa come back and measure out retribution these minutes may multiply by thousands for the sinners. Our Arab and Riffian friends will be ever vigilant, as the rest of Africa and ourselves shall be. Be assured that I planted well the seed of Negro or Black nationalism which cannot be destroyed even by the foul play that has been meted out to me.

My work is just begun, and when the history of my suffering is complete, then future generations of Negroes will have in their hands the guide by which they shall know the "sins" of the twentieth century. I, and I know you, too, believe in time and we shall wait patiently for 200 years, if need be, to face our enemies.

After my enemies are satisfied, in life or death I shall come back to you to serve even as I have served before. In life I shall be the same; in death I shall be a terror to the foes of Negro liberty. If death has power, then count on me in death to be the real Marcus Garvey I would like to be. If I may come in an earthquake, or a cyclone, or plague, or pestilence, or as God would have me, then be assured that I shall never desert you.

The civilization of today is gone drunk and crazy with its power and by such it seeks through injustice, fraud and lies to crush the unfortunate. But if I am apparently crushed by the system of influence and misdirected power, my cause shall rise again to plague the conscience of the corrupt. For this I am satisfied, and for you, I repeat, I am glad to suffer and even die. □

The Poetry Of Black America

"IF WE MUST DIE" By Claude McKay

If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die, O let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!
O kinsmen! we must meet the common foe!
Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

"THE NEGRO MOTHER" By Langston Hughes

Children, I come back today
To tell you a story of the long dark way
That I had to climb, that I had to know
In order that the race might live and grow.
Look at my face — dark as the night —
Yet shining like the sun with love's true light.
I am the child they stole from the sand
Three hundred years ago in

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Paul Robeson: "The Power Of Negro Action"

The late world renowned Black political activist, author, actor, singer, lawyer and athlete Paul Robeson examines the problems of Black leadership in America in the following excerpt from his autobiography, Here I Stand.

The primary quality that Negro leadership must possess, as I see it, is *a single-minded dedication to their people's welfare.* Any individual Negro, like any other person, may have many varied interests in life, but for the true leader all else must be subordinated to the interests of those whom he is leading.

If today it can be said that the Negro people of the United States are lagging behind the progress being made by colored peoples in other lands, one basic cause for it has been that all too often Negro leadership here has lacked the selfless passion for their people's welfare that has characterized the leaders of the colonial liberation movements.

Among us there is a general recognition — and a grudging acceptance — of the fact that some of our leaders are not only unwilling to make sacrifices but they must see some gain for themselves in whatever they do. A few crumbs for a few is too often hailed as "progress for the race."

To live in freedom one must be prepared to die to achieve it, and while few if any of us are ever called upon to make that supreme sacrifice, no one can ignore the fact that in a difficult struggle those who are in the forefront may suffer cruel blows. He who is not prepared to face the trials of battle will never lead to a triumph.

This spirit of dedication, as I have indicated, is abundantly present in the ranks of our people but progress will be slow until it is much more manifest in the character of leadership.

Dedication to the Negro people's welfare is one side of a coin: the other side is *independence.* Effective Negro leadership must rely upon and be responsive to no other control than the will of their people. We have allies — important allies — among our White fellow-citizens, and we must ever seek to draw them closer to us and to gain many more.

But the Negro people's movement must be led by *Negroes,* not only in terms of title and position but in reality. Good advice is good no matter what the source and

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SAMORA MACHEL: "COLONIALISM IS THE GREATEST DESTROYER OF CULTURE"

Under the leadership of Samora Machel, FRELIMO led the armed struggle which gained independence for the Mozambican people from Portuguese colonialism on June 25, 1975. Since that time, the Mozambican president has become widely respected throughout the African continent and the Third World for his leading role in support of the armed liberation struggles in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia and South Africa. Following is a speech delivered by Comrade Machel at Ahmed Bello University in Zaria, Nigeria in December, 1977, in which he discusses how the Mozambican Revolution has rebuilt the African culture destroyed by Portugal.





Mozambican President SAMORA MACHEL (right). BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON met the FRELIMO leader in China in 1971.

Colonialism, a system for the deprivation of an entire people's freedom, is the greatest destroyer of culture that humanity has ever known. African society and its culture were crushed, and when they survived they were co-opted so that they could be more easily emptied of their content.

This was done in two distinct ways. One was the utilization of institutions in order to support colonial exploitation. Nothing escaped this takeover bid. The other was the "folklorising" of culture, its reduction to more or less picturesque habits and customs, to impose in their place the values of colonialism.

An example of the first method, in our country, was the utilization by colonialism of feudal institutions. Even though the dominant principle was direct administration through Portuguese colonial civil servants, the needs of colonization sometimes required indirect administration to prevail. In this way some feudal states were taken over and their chiefs and shiekhs conserved the appearance of power.

In the second case, within the framework of the depersonalization process, contempt for our culture led to the most ridiculous extremes imaginable. In our countries, history began with the colonial conquest and was reduced to the exploits of the conqueror. They taught us to admire the deeds of Afonso do Albuquerque or of Nelson, but were silent about those of Maguiguana or Shaka. We knew in detail the winding course of the Tagous or the Thames, but did not know that great rivers such as the Zambezi or the Niger flowed in the vast African savannahs.

Excluded from history, forgotten in geography, we only existed in relation to a colonial point of reference. Thus colonialism asserted that "Mozambique is only Mozambique because it is Portugal." It is ridiculous!

Colonial education appears in this context as a process of denying the national character, alienating the Mozambican from his country and his origin and, in exacerbating his dependence on abroad, forcing him to be ashamed of his people and his culture.

We only have to remember the words of the Cardinal Archbishop of Lourenco Marques, when he said, referring to the role of colonial education: "Schools, yes, schools that teach just enough reading and writing to enable understanding of the greatness of the nation that protects them."

By erecting "assimilation" as an institutionalized system, or the complete identification of the Mozambican with every aspect of the culture and traditions of the colonizing power, Portuguese colonialism reached the culminating point of the process of alienation of the Mozambican. The ultimate objective was to make out of each Mozambican an "assimilado," a little Portuguese with a Black skin. Colonization thus went beyond the limits of external domination, political oppression and exploitation of the labor force and wealth of the country, to penetrate to the heart of the Mozambican personality, in a real act of rape.

In taking up arms on September 25, 1964, the Mozambican people dealt the blows of revolt against the political system of domination but also directed them against all those forms of social conditioning and mental subjugation.

Consciousness of the depths of oppression determined the nature of the liberation. It could be thought that the armed struggle is only a method of action, a simple form of physical violence to force the enemy to withdraw from our territory. There is no doubt that initially for us the armed struggle was essentially of this character. In the first phase our action was in reality essentially destructive.

However, with the development of the struggle, the colonial army was forced to beat a retreat from ever-increasing zones, taking in its wake the colonial administrative, exploitative machine. It was here that was posed, not as a technical question but as a demand arising from the development of the struggle itself, the decisive question: what type of reconstruction to have in these regions, and what type of society to build? The answer is there.

New elements appeared within Mozambican society who proposed to substitute themselves for the fleeing exploiters, attempting to reestablish the capitalist exploitation practiced by the Portuguese, in new forms. We asked, was this really the objective of our fight? Was this really the objective of our sacrifice?

The reply of the masses, the popular masses, was clear: to reject any restoration of capitalist exploitation. They asserted that they were fighting for total liberation, not to substitute one exploiter for another, whatever his color.

We have an expression in Mozambique "a parasite is always a parasite, whether he is White, he is a parasite; whether he is Black, he is a parasite; whether he is Yellow, he is a parasite." The parasite does not live on milk, or live from water, but from blood. So our enemy was anyone who exploited, anyone who wanted to live from the blood of the people.

Cultural rebirth began with the liberation struggle. Long-suppressed manifestations of culture regained their place, and gained a new content in expressing the new life of work and struggle: we sang our fights, we sang our work, we sang our heroes.

The fight for literacy and education takes a prominent place. The assimilation of science by the broad masses was the way to guarantee future victories, to combat obscurantism and superstition, to gain a new conception of the world, to define new relations between men and between man and nature. A deep link between theory and practice, and between teaching and production, was established.

Science is the product of the joint endeavor of men of our time and of the accumulated practice and study of the generations that preceded us. When the bourgeoisie took over the university, however, they transformed it into an instrument for formulating a class ideology, encouraging individualism, the competitive spirit, discrimination, to sum up, every manifestation of the system of exploitation of man by man.

This elitist conception of the university necessarily creates an artificial division between theory and practice. Knowledge ceases to be the fruit of the joint work of men, and science is removed from its eminently collective dimension.

Our universities should be detachments of the great army that is the people, determined to achieve their complete liberation; the People determined to carry the fight against oppression, humiliation and exploitation, against colonialism and imperialism, to the end, and to build a new society. □

AMILCAR CABRAL: "ARMED LIBERATION STRUGGLE DEVELOPS NATIONAL CULTURE"

During the time Samora Machel was fighting Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, Amilcar Cabral was leading the armed struggle against Portugal in Guinea-Bissau. In the excerpts from the following speech made in 1970 at Syracuse University in New York, Cabral, the assassinated secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, analyzes the role of culture in national liberation struggles against European colonialism.



Assassinated secretary general of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, AMILCAR CABRAL.

When Goebbels, the brain behind Nazi propaganda, heard culture being discussed, he brought out his revolver. That shows that the Nazis — who were and are the most tragic expression of imperialism and of its thirst for domination — even if they were all degenerates like Hitler, had a clear idea of the value of culture as a factor of resistance to foreign domination.

History teaches us that, in certain circumstances, it is very easy for the foreigners to impose his domination on a people. But it also teaches us that, whatever may be the material aspects of this domination, it can be maintained only by the permanent, organized repression of the cultural life of the people concerned. Implantation of foreign domination can be assured definitively only by physical liquidation of a significant part of the dominated population.

In fact, to take up arms to dominate a people, is above all, to take up arms to destroy, or at least to neutralize, to paralyze, its cultural life. For, with a strong indigenous cultural life, foreign domination cannot be sure of its perpetuation. At any moment, depending on internal and external factors determining the evolution of the society in question, cultural resistance (indestructible) may take on new forms (political, economic, armed) in order to fully contest foreign domination.

This, for example, is the case with the so-called theory of progressive *assimilation* of native populations, which turns out to be only a more or less violent attempt to deny the culture of the people in question. The utter failure of this "theory," implemented in practice by several colonial powers, including Portugal, is the most obvious proof of its lack of viability, if not of its inhuman character. It attains the highest degree of absurdity in the Portuguese case, where Salazar (Portuguese official) affirmed that Africa does *not exist*.

This is also the case with the so-called theory of apartheid, created, applied and developed on the basis of the economic and political domination of the people of southern Africa by a racist minority, with all the outrageous crimes against humanity which that involves. The practice of apartheid takes the form of unrestrained exploitation of the labor force of the African masses, incarcerated and repressed in the largest concentration camp mankind has ever known.

These practical examples give a measure of the drama of foreign imperialist domination as it confronts the cultural reality of the dominated people. They also suggest the strong, dependent and reciprocal relationships existing between the *cultural situation* and the *economic* (and political) *situation* in the behavior of human societies.

In fact, culture is always in the life of a society (open or closed), the more or less conscious result of the economic and political activities of that society, the more or less dynamic expression of the kinds of relationships which prevail in that society, one the hand between man (considered individually or collectively) and nature, and, on the other hand, among individuals, groups of individuals, social strata on classes.

The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological or idealist plane of the physical and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated. Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a derterminant of history, by the positive or negative influence which it exerts on the evolution of relationships between man and his environment, among men or groups of men within a society, as well as among different societies.

Ignorance of this fact may explain the failure of several attempts at foreign domination — as well as the failure of some international liberation movements.

The principal characteristic, common to every kind of imperialist domination, is the negation of the *historical process* of the dominated people by means of violently usurping the free operation of the process of development of the *productive forces*. Now, in any given society, the level of development of the productive forces and the system for social utilization of these forces (the ownership system) determine the *mode of production*.

In our opinion, the mode of production whose contradictions are manifested with more or less intensity through the class struggle, is the principal factor in the history of any human group, the level of the productive forces being the true and permanent driving power of history.

For every society, for every group of people, considered as an evolving entity, the level of the productive forces indicates the stage of development of the society and of each of its components in relation to nature, its capacity to act or to react consciously in relation to nature.

It indicates and conditions the type of material relationships (expressed objectively or subjectively) which exists among the various elements or groups constituting the society in question. Relationships and types of relationships between man and nature, between man and his environment. Relationships and types of relationships among the individual or collective components of a society. To speak of these is to speak of history, but it is also to speak of culture.

Whatever may be the ideological or idealistic characteristics of cultural expression, culture is an essential element of the history of a people. Culture is, perhaps, the product of this history just as the flower is the product of a plant. Like history, or because it is history, culture has as its material base the level of the productive forces and the mode of production. Culture plunges its roots into the physical reality of the environmental humus in which it develops, and it reflects the organic nature of the society which may be more or less influenced by external factors.

History allows us to know the nature and extent of the imbalances and conflicts (economic, political and social) which characterize the evolution of a society; culture allows us to know the dynamic syntheses which have been developed and established by social conscience to resolve these conflicts at each stage of its evolution, in the search for survival and progress.

The study of the history of national liberation struggles shows that generally these struggles are preceded by an increase in expression of culture, consolidated progressively into a successful or unsuccessful attempt to affirm the cultural personality of the dominated people, as a means of negating the oppressor culture.

Whatever may be the conditions of a people's political and social factors in practicing this domination, it is generally within the culture that we find the seed of opposition, which leads to the structuring and development of the liberation movement.

The need for such an analysis of cultural values becomes more acute when, in order to face colonial violence, the liberation movement must mobilize and organize the people, under the direction of a strong and disciplined political organization, in order to resort to violence in the cause of freedom — *the armed struggle for the national liberation.* □

B.P.P. PRESIDENT ON TACTICS OF LIBERATION IN BLACK COMMUNITY

HUEY P. NEWTON: "IN DEFENSE OF SELF-DEFENSE, II"

Throughout the nearly 400 years that Black people have been in America, the U.S. government has actively conspired to prevent the rise of Black leadership that truly represents the community. In the following essay, written in 1967, Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton analyzes the historical methods used by the American government to create conflict within the Black community between the "endorsed spokesmen," those who seek change only through established institutions, and the "implacables," those Black people such as the Black Panther Party who are determined to break their oppression by any means necessary.

Historically the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those Black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called Black leaders within the political arena.

The oppressors sponsor radio programs, give space in their racist newspapers, and show them the luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor.

The Black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive, passive and nonviolent, turning a deaf ear to the cries of the suffering and downtrodden, the unemployed and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary.

Historically there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color Black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black community a fundamental difference over which tactics, from the broad spectrum of alternatives, Black people should employ in their struggle for liberation.

One side contends that Black people are in the peculiar position where, in order to gain acceptance into the "mainstream" of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor Whites. This view holds that Black people constitute a hopeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations.

There are certain tactics that are taboo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but not protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people must at all costs remain nonviolent.

On the other side we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary.

Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor.

The Blacks who were wed to the nonviolent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical, i.e., less dangerous spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all, or better yet, he wished to speak for them himself.

Unable to do this practically, he does the next best thing and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount among his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence them.

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"Letter From Birmingham Jail"

By Dr. Martin Luther Kings, Jr.

In a country which has always treated Black people with extreme violence, the great Black civil rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., used the tactic of nonviolent direct action to achieve the liberation of Black Americans. Nevertheless, he was severely criticized by White "moderates" who accused him of causing the violent response to his civil rights protests.

The following are excerpts from a letter written by Dr. King while he was in jail to White ministers in Birmingham, Alabama, who had warned him to slow down the pace of his anti-segregation campaign in the White racist Southern city.

April 16, 1963
Birmingham, Alabama

My Dear Fellow Clergymen:

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling my present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all thecriticismsthat cross my desk, my secretaries would have little time for anything other than such correspondence in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work.

But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I want to try to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should indicate why I am here in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the view which argues against "outsiders coming in."

I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds.

You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes.

It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more

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Malcolm X: "We Must Understand The Past"

February 21 marked the 14th anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. Malcolm strongly believed that the re-education of Black Americans was vital in their contemporary struggle for liberation. Almost every public speech he made in some way touched on the relationship between Black history to the present-day fight of Black people to achieve their human rights.

The following are excerpts from a longer speech Malcolm made on January 24, 1965, before a meeting of his Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) in New York City.

When you deal with the past, you're dealing with history, you're dealing actually with the origin of a thing. When you know the origin, you know the cause. If you don't know the cause, you don't know the reason. You're just cut off, you're left standing in mid-air.

So the past deals with history or the origin of anything — the origin of a person, the origin of a nation, the origin of an incident. And when you know the origin, then you get a better understanding of the causes that produce whatever originated there and its reason for originating and its reason for being.

It's impossible for you and me to have a balanced mind in this society without going into the past, because in this particular society, as we function and fit into it right now, we're such an underdog, we're trampled upon, we're looked upon as almost nothing.

Now if we don't go into the past and find out how we got this way, we will think that we were always this way. And if you think that you were always in the conditions that you're in right now, it's impossible for you to have too much confidence in yourself, you become worthless, almost nothing.

But when you go back into the past and find out where you once were, then you will know that you weren't always at this level, that you once had attained a higher level, had made great achievements, contributions to society, civilization, science and so forth.

And you know that if you once did it, you can do it again; you automatically get the incentive, the inspiration and the energy necessary to duplicate what our forefathers formerly did.

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Intercommunal News

Mugabe: Z.A.N.U. Has Right To "Reins Of Power" In Rhodesia

(Maputo, Mozambique) - Robert Mugabe, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which controls much of the Rhodesian countryside, said that his movement was heading toward military victory and was entitled to the "reins of government," the *New York Times* reports.

He said he would not negotiate with "Prime Minister" Ian Smith or the Black puppet leaders who have joined in Smith's "internal settlement."

The ZANU president added that the forces of Joshua Nkomo, the other key guerrilla leader in the Patriotic Front, and an ally of Mugabe, Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), had done so little fighting that they "cannot reap the rewards of victory."

Mugabe said that he now "expects aid from socialist countries that have not assisted us in the past." The Soviet Union has for many years supported Nkomo; Mugabe whose forces operate military bases in Mozambique, has received some Chinese backing and the support of other socialist countries.

Both ZANU and ZAPU enjoy support from Black African nations near Rhodesia as well as sanctuary for their military forces.

Mugabe offered reassurance to Rhodesian Whites that "we don't mean harm to them because they are White." He said that they would be welcome in a "nonracial" society where people would be valued by their skills.

Declaring that any government his movement led would want foreign investment on a partnership basis, he said that he had already had a visit from representatives of an American company, Union Carbide.

In answering questions about the military situation, Mugabe was extremely confident.

"Now that we are firmly entrenched in the rural areas," he said, "and Smith's ground forces are no longer a match for our forces there, the next targets necessarily must be the cities."

Mugabe said bases now existed around the cities and that this gave his forces "a rear from which we can hit the enemy any way we like."

If the election led to a government headed by a Black

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KHOMEINI GOVERNMENT FIGHTS ENEMIES IN IRAN

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

principle of the provisional revolutionary government's foreign policy. Israel received 60 per cent of its oil from Iran.

Yassir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) won assurances from Khomeini that Iran will "turn to the issue of victory over Israel" after the nation consolidates its strength.

Tehran Radio reported that officials of the state-run National Iranian Oil Company announced striking employees had returned to work in the Ahwaz, Masjed Soleyman, Gach Saran and Abador oil fields in southwestern iran.

A company spokesperson was quoted as saying that once production equipment is ready to start, the oil flow could return to normal within 10 days. At peak levels, Iran produced an average of six million barrels a day.

Meanwhile, the evacuation of Americans and Europeans from Iran continued. There are approximately 8,000 Americans in Iran. About 2,000 Americans, mostly journalists, U.S. citizens married to Iranians, and a skeleton embassy and business staff will remain.

Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan has said the government will move quickly to hold a referendum on the future form of government for the country. The prime minister said that voters will be asked to answer yes or no to the following question: "Instead of a monarchy, do you want an Islamic republic?

After the referendum, a constituent assembly will be elected to draft a new constitution and then an election will be held in which all parties, including leftist groups, will be allowed to participate.

A significant challenge to Khomeini and the Bazargan government has been mounted by Peoples Fedayeen, a Marxist group. The guerrilla group has been involved in numerous anti-government clashes in Tehran and throughout the country which have resulted in scores of deaths.□





Iranian people celebrate the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Bakhtiar government following the return from exile of the leader of the Iranian revolution AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI (right).

Z.A.N.U. Attacks U.S. Efforts To Lift Rhodesian Sanctions

Following is a communique issued recently by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) attacking recent efforts within the United States to lift economic sanctions against Rhodesia after the upcoming sham elections for limited Black majority rule. ZANU is allied with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZANU) in the Patriotic Front, which is leading the armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

We would like to register our concern and dismay at the continuous tilting of the United States government towards the Ian Smith regime.

"Last year, the U.S. allowed Smith and his puppets a visit into this country. During his visit, Smith appealed for moral and material support from reactionary and racist circles here. This happened soon after Smith had been secretly given U.S. designed 'Huey' helicopters and other war materials.

"At the moment, we want to strongly register our concern at the proposals that the U.S. should lift the United States economic sanctions against the rebel racist Smith regime.

"This idea is being worked out by the enemies of the people of Zimbabwe, namely Senator S.I. Hayakawa of California and Jessie Helms of North Carolina. These are the same lawmakers who invited the murderer Smith into this country last November.

"We understand that the U.S. would like to lift economic sanctions against Rhodesia after the upcoming sham April 20 elections. The U.S. is also considering sending a congressional delegation to monitor these fake elections in Rhodesia.

"We would like to warn the U.S. and its allies that the "internal" settlement (the March 3, 1978 Accord) has been denounced and rejected by the Patriotic Front of ZANU and ZAPU, which is the sole and authentic liberation movement in Zimbabwe, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Non-aligned countries, the Commonwealth Nations, the United Nations and the progressive international community.

"For a U.S. delegation representative of either the Congress or the executive branch of government, or an international delegation backed by the government to monitor these elections gives a stamp of approval to the 'internal' settlement.

"Let nobody be under any illusion regarding the White Rhodesians referendum, the so-called upcoming April 20 election and the internal settlement. These are irrelevant and won't solve the problem.

"We are poised for military and political victory in Zimbabwe. All those who are supporting the Smith regime are simply wasting their time and resources. We have now deployed our gallant forces throughout the length and breadth of Zimbabwe and are now poised to strike the last and fatal blow. □

U.S. FINANCES APARTHEID IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Following is Part 1 of a series of articles written by Carol Thompson and Warren Day, both lecturers at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, exposing the collaboration of the U.S. government and American multinational corporations in their efforts to prop up the apartheid regime in South Africa. The expose is reprinted from the Tanzanian Sunday News.

Claiming that U.S. dollars can liberate South Africa, the American government is fighting the call for sanctions against the apartheid regime.

An American envoy to the United Nations recently reiterated that "economic relations with that country could be a positive force for change."

This statement is the latest expression of the consistent Carter-Young policy that American corporations are a liberalizing force in South Africa. Apparently, they assume that what is good for General Motors (G.M.) is good not only for the U.S. but also for South Africa.

However, G.M. is not alone in South Africa; four hundred corporations have invested $1.6 billion in South Africa. American banks have loaned over $2.2 billion and trade figures are valued at two billion dollars. The total American financing of apartheid is about six billion dollars.

SECOND ARGUMENT

A second argument promoted by the Carter administration against the U.N. move toward sanctions is that sanctions cannot be enforced. This argument has practical reality — sanctions are troublesome and costly to enforce.

U.S. officials emphasize this difficulty because they know well how the U.S. government is breaking sanctions right now with Rhodesia. It would be no more difficult for them to violate sanctions for South Africa.

The record of American corporations in South Africa is quite contrary to the picture that Carter and Young draw. There is no evidence that corporations in general have worked positively for change. Rather, there is ample evidence to demonstrate corporate promotion of the status quo, of pernicious apartheid.

American corporations have been in South Africa for over 60 years and the oppression of Africans has constantly increased.

If, as the Carter administration contends, American dollars can liberalize apartheid, why didn't it happen in 1940 or 1950 or 1960? Instead, as American investment increased, the list of repressive laws became longer:

The so-called Bantu Administration act of 1927, the so-called Bantu consolidation act of 1950, the nortorious Terrorism act of 1967, and many more in the 1960's.

The history of the corporations shows they act only to enforce apartheid. (That) is clear from secret documents recently shared with the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid. The documents detail G.M. contingency plans for South African "unrest".

The nature of the "unrest" is not specified, so by its ambiguity it implies that the South African regime has permission to control production even in the event of a peaceful demonstration or a strike.



Black South African gold mine workers are exploited by the U.S. and the South African government.

Further, G.M. officials have not only agreed to hand over the plant (which can be quickly transformed into production for military vehicles and equipment rather than for automobiles), it has also agreed to call in American "security guards" to help "protect" the plant!

While Carter asserts that American corporations are a force against apartheid, the South Africans are confident of corporate loyalty for White dominance.

Corporations invest in South Africa for one, and only one, reason — to maximize profits. Until the recent economic crisis, such profits averaged 19 per cent after taxes, nearly twice the U.S. domestic rate.

The key elements have been cheap African labor and accessible resources.□



U.S. Role In Rhodesia Attacked

(Washington, D.C.) - A group of U.S. Black leaders recently called on President Carter and Congress to oppose any role by Americans in monitoring bogus elections set for April in Rhodesia. The demand was made by Trans-Africa, a Black lobbying group, and endorsed by the NAACP; National Urban League (NUL); Maynard Jackson, mayor of Atlanta; and the National Urban Coalition (NUC).

Tanzania-Uganda Border War Spreads

(Kampala, Uganda) - Fierce fighting between Tanzania and Ugandan troops took place in mid-February less than 100 miles from this capital city, according to a Ugandan radio broadcast. The broadcast said Tanzanian troops occupied 350 square miles of Ugandan territory. Tanzania has denied its forces are occupying parts of Uganda. Speculation has grown that fighting may involve anti-government guerrillas or dissident groups within the army. Tanzania reportedly has spurned an offer by Libya to mediate the border war, preferring peace efforts by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was scheduled to meet in Kenya to discuss the conflict.

Guerrillas Attack Chad Capital

(Paris, France) - House-to-house fighting erupted in Chad's capital of N'Djamena in mid-February as guerrilla forces captured the northern half of the city. President Felix Malloum abandoned the leadership of the former French colony and sought the protection of the French army. Malloum reportedly was replaced by the commander of security forces, Wadal Kamouge, who is leading government troops against guerrillas led by Prime Minister Hissen Habre. French troops intervened in Chad last year to suppress an uprising by the National Liberation Front (NLF). Habre, a leader of the NLF, left it to join the government and was appointed prime minister last August.

Rhodesia Invades Mozambique And Zambia

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - Rhodesian planes invaded Mozambique in late February, bombing an alleged "storage complex" of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), government officials said. The attack appeared to be the start of a campaign to stop ZANU from disrupting bogus elections for limited Black majority rule scheduled for April 20.

Meanwhile, Rhodesian warplanes earlier invaded neighboring Zambia, attacking military bases operated by the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which is allied with ZANU in the Patriotic Front. The raid was in retaliation for the shooting-down of a Rhodesian airplane near the Zambian border by ZAPU. All 59 aboard the plane, which ZAPU charged was carrying war supplies, died. Rhodesia has invaded Zambia at least four times since the controversial "internal" settlement last March between White "Prime Minister" Ian Smith and three Black puppet leaders.

Student Leaders Arrested In S.Africa

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - South African police arrested two Black student leaders near the Black "township" of Soweto in early February. Arrested were Ewan Maphana, president of the Soweto Students League (SSL), and Azael Phiri. Meanwhile, the trial of another Black student leader, D. Motsitsi, former president of the banned Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), recently began on trumped-up charges of "inciting riot, conspiracy and terrorism." Motsitsi testified that authorities had subjected him to inhuman tortures, including electric shock and beatings with police clubs.

U.N. Namibia Plan Pushed

(United Nations, N.Y.) - U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim recently met with representatives of the five frontline states in southern Africa and the five Western powers to discuss the U.N. plan for independence for Namibia. The talks followed a trip by the U.N.'s special representative for Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, to the frontline states — Mozambique, Tanzania, Angola, Zambia and Botswana — to South Africa, which illegally occupies Namibia and Nigeria to prepare for the proposed U.N.-supervised elections.

CHINA INVADES VIETNAM, OCCUPIES 450–MILE BORDER AREA

(Hong Kong) - Chinese forces invaded Vietnam in mid-February, halting their advance after penetrating up to 10 miles into the country and capturing nearly all of the Vietnamese fortifications along their common 450-mile border.

Radio Hanoi said that Vietnamese troops were responsible for checking the invasion, killing more than 1,000 Chinese troops and destroying about 60 tanks in two days of fighting.

It is widely believed, however, that the well-equipped Chinese forces, who outnumber the Vietnamese two to one, have chosen to slow their attack and consolidate their positions.

In Paris, Vietnam's ambassador to France, Vo Van Sung, said that the Chinese attack stretched 620 miles, from the town of Mong Cai on the Gulf of Tonkin to Lai Chau province near the Laotian border. He said Chinese artillery units opened the attack by shelling towns and hamlets within five miles of the border, opening the way for advancing tanks and infantry.

China, in a statement transmitted by the official *Hsinshua* news agency, characterized its actions as "counterattacks" by frontier troops "driven beyond forbearance" by Vietnamese harassment along the border.

Hsinhua said China had decided to punish Vietnam and did not intend to occupy Vietnamese territory.

Intelligence sources here estimated the Chinese in the past six months have moved 150,000 troops to within striking distance of Vietnam's border.

Despite China's promise to recall its troops shortly, the Chinese incursion greatly increases the chances of a major war between the one-time socialist allies, given the powerful weaponry and the number of troops now massed on both sides of the border. A Sino-Vietnamese conflict could have global impact, too, if Vietnam's close ally and arms supplier, the Soviet Union, retaliates against the Chinese.

Shortly after the invasion Vietnam seemed to be appealing for Soviet help when it called on the Soviet Union and other "fraternal socialist countries" to "enhance their solidarity with and...defend Vietnam."

China's invasion was precipitated by a border war with Vietnam which has seriously escalated in the past six months.



With the heightening of these tensions, Vietnam and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation last November. A section of the treaty reportedly provides for mutual aid in the event of attack.

The escalation of the Sino-Vietnam conflict seems also to have stemmed from the strengthening of U.S.-China ties following the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

It is noteworthy that the Chinese invasion came little more than a month after Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's unprecedented trip to the U.S. in January. State Department spokesperson Hodding Carter has disclosed that Teng, in conversations with President Carter in late January, did "suggest...unspecified types of actions" against Vietnam.

The Sino-Vietnamese border has been a trouble spot since last spring, when more than 170,000 ethnic Chinese residents of Vietnam fled back to China.

Tensions grew further when China suspended all its financial aid to Vietnam, in part, to protest the latter's support for guerrillas which recently overthrew the Chinese-backed Pol Pot government in Cambodia.

Since the fall of the Pot government, China reportedly has moved two additional infantry divisions and 700 fighter planes to the border. □

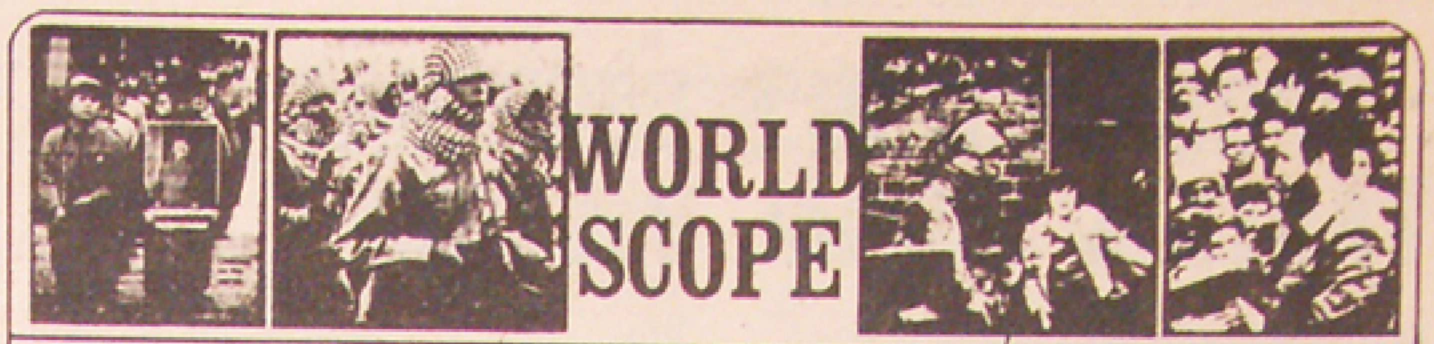
"Reins Of Power" In Rhodesia

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

moderate, he was asked, would he negotiate with it?

"Of course not," he said. "All that will have happened really is a change of heads.

"Those who have not fought cannot reap the rewards of a victory to which they have contributed nothing," he continued. "Those who are capable of fighting must join our forces in fighting. Then our victory will be joint. Then the sharing will be joint." □



Assassins Of Chilean Diplomat Convicted

(Washington, D.C.) - Three anti-Castro Cubans were convicted in mid-February for their roles in the assassination of former Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier and an associate here a little more than two years ago. Letelier was an ambassador to the U.S. for the Marxist government of former Chilean President Salvador Allende. Defense lawyers laid the blame for the murder on the CIA, charging that an American-born Chilean secret police agent who was earlier convicted for his role in the assassination, Michael Townley, worked for the CIA as a double-agent.

Korea Reunification Talks Halted

(Panmunjom, Korea Demilitarized Zone) - The first meeting in nearly six years between North Korea and South Korea ended in disagreement over the key question of who is entitled to represent each side in negotiations aimed at unification. North Korea insisted that it would be represented by its Democratic Front for the Unification of the Fatherland. South Korea said it will talk only with representatives of a revived South-North coordinating committee, which last met in 1973. The talks will resume in early March.

Red Guards Executed In China

(Hong Kong) - Four members of the Red Guard which led China's tumultuous Cultural Revolution inspired by the late Chairman Mao Tse-tung during the 1960's were executed in Peking after being convicted of allegedly raping, torturing and killing right-wing opponents. The January 16 trial was witnessed by 37,000 persons. The Red Guard were young persons who carried out the numerous purges of entrenched senior bureaucrats.

Iran Breaks Ties With Israel

(Tehran, Iran) - Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), proclaimed here recently that the Iranian revolution had turned the balance of forces in the Middle East "upside down." During Arafat's visit, Iran broke diplomatic relations with Israel and reaffirmed its decision not to export oil to the Zionist state.

New Offer To British Workers

(London, England) - The British government prepared a new settlement offer to 1.5 million striking public service workers in mid-February. The offer reportedly will be an immediate nine per cent pay hike, in place of the 8.8 per cent refused up to now.

U.S. Envoy Killed In Afghanistan

(Islambad, Pakistan) - Moslem gunmen shot and killed the U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Adolph Dubs, in mid-February when government forces stormed a hotel where Dubs was being held hostage. All four kidnappers, who had demanded the release of three Moslem clergymen jailed by the progressive Afgan government, were killed. Shiite Moslems reportedly have played a prominent role in sporadic uprisings against the government of President Nur Mohammed Taraki, which came to power in a coup last April.

U.S. Strengthens Ties With Turkey

(Istanbul, Turkey) - In the aftermath of the collapse of the pro-Western regime in Iran, the U.S has stepped up efforts to strengthen its ties with the embattled Turkish government of Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit. Since late December, 13 of Turkey's 67 provinces have been under martial law due to a wave of political unrest that left about 700 to 1,000 people dead last year. The U.S. is negotiating a new defense treaty that would cover use of American bases in Turkey, which reportedly will receive $300 million in economic aid from the U.S. next year.

U.S. Seeks Mexican Natural Gas

(Mexico City, Mexico) - Mexico and the U.S. agreed to begin negotiations for America's purchase of Mexican natural gas following a recent summit meeting between President Carter and President Jose Lopez Portillo. At a follow-up summit meeting scheduled for this summer in the U.S., the issue of undocumented Mexican workers in the U.S., officially estimated at over a million, will also be discussed.

"PROSECUTION'S DESPERATE TACTICS SIGNAL VICTORY"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Iles is the confessed murderer of Berkeley genetics professor Dr. Spencer Brown.

During the pretrial hearing at which Orloff revealed that Iles would testify, co-defense Paul Harris accused the deputy D.A. of deliberately concealing the identify of the woman until less than two weeks before the start of the trial.

Orloff claimed that he feared for Iles' safety.

Kennedy charged the prosecution's concealment of Iles' identity as "spurious grounds" because Orloff arranged an interview with the imprisoned prostitute with *Oakland Tribune* "reporter" Pearl Stewart.

Stewart, the author of dozens of slanderous stories about Huey and the Party, was exposed in a front-page BLACK PANTHER article last fall as a police agent. The Black woman writer publicly admitted to passing the physical fitness test of the Oakland Police Department (OPD), which is tantamount to being a police officer.

Alameda County Superior court judge Martin Pulich gave Harris permission to interview Iles at Frontera prison.

The chief prosecution witness against Huey will be Black prostitute Raphaelle Gary, a.k.a. "Crystal Grey," who testified at a preliminary hearing in the case in October, 1977, that she was standing just a few feet away from Smith when she allegedly saw Huey shoot the young streetwalker.

During the 1977 preliminary hearing, Grey, 33, who admitted to being a prostitute since she was 16, was exposed by the defense as "a sick liar." "We will be able to discredit her testimony almost totally," Kennedy declared. "We have evidence that she has lied on several occasions, both under and not under oath.

"We have strong evidence," the BPP chief counsel continued, "that the reason she has lied in this particular case and has collaborated with the district attorney's office and the OPD to try to get Huey is to secure a license to continue being a prostitute."

In a taped interview with one of Huey's investigators prior to the 1977 preliminary hearing, Grey admitted that she did not identify the BPP leader as Smith's killer until "a month or so" after the incident, when the BPP president had fled the country in fear of his life.

In February, 1978, a front-page article in the *Oakland Tribune* reported that Grey lied to Oakland police concerning her involvement in the attempted murder of a reputed Oakland drug dealer. Grey unsuccessfully tried to take the blame for shooting the drug dealer in an effort to protect her pimp.

The third witness against Huey will be 21-year-old prostitute Michelle Yvette Jenkins.

The defense counsel revealed that Huey will take the stand in his defense during the upcoming trial.

Stating insistently that "there is no question that Huey is innocent," Kennedy said that the strength of his client, that of the Black Panther Party and public support will be able to fight the power of the courts, the police department and the D.A.'s office.

Calling Huey's trial "one of the major political trials of this era," Kennedy said,

"When the jurors are given the opportunity to hear from Huey what really occured and to see that he had absolutely no motive to commit this offense, they will have to vote 'not guilty.' "□

"In Defense Of Self-Defense"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

The oppressor, the "endorsed spokesmen," and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesmen as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing.

The endorsed spokesmen look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect him from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away.

The implacables view both the oppressors and the endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If anything, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically the endorsed spokesmen have always held the upper hand over the implacables. In history there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen and gained the attention of the Black masses.

The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen into a panic-stricken frenzy, often causing them to leap into a rash act — murder, imprisonment, or exile — to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the road.

DECEITFUL TACTICS

The community has not responded in the past or in the present to the absurd, erroneous and deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The community realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counterforce through self-defense.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesmen. The heirs of Malcolm are moving to expose the endorsed spokesmen so that the Black masses can see them for what they are and have always been.□

"We Must Understand The Past"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

But by keeping us completely cut off from our past, it is easy for the man who has power over us to make us willing to stay at this level because we will feel that we were always at this level, a low level. That's why I say it is so important for you and me to spend time today learning something about the past so that we can better understand the present, analyze it, and then do something about it.

When you find a person who has a knowledge of things of the world today, he realizes that what happens in South Vietnam can affect him if he's living on St. Nicholas Avenue, or what's happening in the Congo affected his situation on 8th Avenue or 7th Avenue or Lenox Avenue.

The person who realizes the effect that things all over the world have right on his block, on his salary, on his reception or lack of reception into society, immediately becomes interested in things international. But if a person's scope is so limited that he thinks things that affect him are only those things that take place across the street or downtown, then he's only interested in things across the street and downtown.

And next month they'll come up to show you another trick. They'll come at you and me next month with this Negro History Week, they call it.

This week comes around once every year. And during this one week they drown us with propaganda about Negro history in Georgia and Mississippi and Alabama. Never do they take us back across the water, back home. They take us down home, but they never give us a history of back home.

They never give us enough information to let us know what were we doing before we ended up in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, and some of those other prison states. They give us the impression with Negro History Week that we were cotton pickers all of our lives. Cotton pickers, orange growers, mammies and uncles for the White man in this country — this is our history when you talk in terms of Negro History Week.

We don't die for our home and our house, we die for his house. We don't die for our country, we die for his country.

So Negro History Week reminds us of this. It doesn't remind us of past achievements, it reminds us only of the achievements we made in the Western hemisphere under the tutelage of the White man. So that whatever achievement that was made in the Western hemisphere that the spotlight is put upon, this is the White man's shrewd way of taking credit for whatever we have accomplished.□



Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. (left) and MALCOLM X.



Chicano youth demand needed funds for their school, Centro Infantil, at an Oakland School Board meeting. OCS Director ERICKA HUGGINS spoke in support of their demands.

Community Pressure Wins Funding For Chicano School

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

members David Tucker and Russell Bruno claimed that funding for Centro Infantil and Hoover, plus a center for Chinese children already promised, would force cuts in the budgets of elementary and secondary schools.

The vote on the issue was postponed until the Board's meeting of the following week, at which action was again delayed until the next week.☐

Black Rebellion In America

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

head.

1819 — slaves in Augusta, Georgia, planned to burn the city. Their leader, Coco, also known as Coot, was caught and executed.

1821 — Rebellion led by Isam, alias General Jackson, took place through concerted activities of maroon groups in Onslow, Carteret and Bladen counties in North Carolina. Joint action planned between outlaws, field hands and some free Blacks against slaveholders. It took 300 militiamen 23 days to subdue the insurrection.

1822 — Betrayal by a house slave of Denmark Vesey conspiracy involving thousands of Blacks in Charleston, South Carolina and environs. Four Whites, 131 Blacks arrested; 37 hanged (including Vesey and five of his aides).

1823 — Bob Ferebee, outlaw slave leader, captured and executed.

1827 — In Mobile County, Alabama, maroon community builds a stockade fort which fell after a three day attack by armed slaveholders.

1830 — Maroon communities cause insubordination in Sampson, Bladen, Onslow, New Hanover and Dublin Counties, North Carolina. According to one leader, Moses, an uprising was planned with considerable arms, ammunition, runners and food supply.

1831 — Nat Turner Revolt in Southampton County, Virginia results in the death of 60 Whites. Turner is captured and hanged.

August 11-21, 1965 — A six-day rebellion erupted in Watts, Los Angeles. Thousands of National Guardsmen and state police were rushed in to crush the uprising, which was traced to the mistreatment and arrest of a Black youth by White policemen. The death toll was 35; 883 injured; and 3,598 reported arrested.

June 12-17, 1967 — One of the most devastating rebellions to sweep U.S. cities in the 1960's took place in Newark, New Jersey. White vigilante groups were formed to terrorize Blacks. Twenty-three people were killed, more than 1,000 injured and 1,600 arrested.☐

"An Appeal To Colored Citizens"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

us nearly or quite to death to make us work in ignorance and miseries, to support them and their families.

They certainly think that we are a gang of fools.

Those among them, who have volunteered their services for our redemption, though we are unable to compensate them for their labours, we nevertheless thank them from the bottom of our hearts, and have our eyes steadfastly fixed upon them, and their labors of love for God and man. But do slaveholders think that we thank them for keeping us in miseries, and taking our lives by the inches?

They (the Whites) know well, if we are *men* — there is a secret monitor in their hearts which tells them we are — they know, I say, if we *are* men, and see them treating us in the manner they do, that there can be nothing in our hearts but death alone, for them, notwithstanding we may appear cheerful, when we see them murdering our dear mothers and wives, because we cannot help ourselves.

Man, in all ages and all nations of the earth, is the same. Man is a peculiar creature — he is the image of his God, though he may be subjected to the most wretched condition upon earth, yet the spirit and feeling which constitute the creature, man, can never be entirely erased from his breast, because the God who made him after his own image, planted it in his heart; he cannot get rid of it.



The Whites knowing this, they do not know what to do; they know that they have done us so much injury, they are afraid that we, being men, and not brutes, will retaliate, and woe will be to them.

Therefore, that dreadful fear, together with an avaricious spirit, and the natural love in them, to be called masters, (which term will yet honor them with to their sorrow) bring them to the resolve that they will keep us in ignorance and wretchedness, as long as they possibly can, and make the best of their time, while it lasts.

Consequently they, themselves, (and not us) render themselves our natural enemies, by treating us so cruel. They keep us miserable now, and call us their property, but some of them will have enough of us by and by — their stomachs shall run over with us. They want us for their slaves, and shall have us to their fill.

We are all in the world together!! — I said above, because we cannot help ourselves, (viz. we cannot help the Whites murdering our mothers and our wives). But this statement is incorrect, for we can help ourselves; for, if we lay aside abject servility, and be determined to act like men, and not brutes, the murderers among the Whites would be afraid to show their cruel heads.

But O, my God! — in sorrow I must say it, that my color, all over the world, have a mean, servile spirit. They yield in a moment to the Whites, let them be right or wrong — the reason they are able to keep their feet on our throats.

Oh! my colored brethren, all over the world, when shall we arise from this death-like apathy? And be men!!☐

The Poetry Of Black America

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Africa's land.
I am the dark girl who crossed the wide sea
Carrying in my body the seed of the free.
I am the woman who worked in the field
Bringing the cotton and the corn to yield.
I am the one who labored as a slave,
Beaten and mistreated for the work that I gave —
Children sold away from me, husband sold, too.
No safety, no love, no respect was I due.
Three hundred years in the deepest South:
But God put a song and a prayer in my mouth.
God put a dream like steel in my soul.
Now, through my children, I'm reaching the goal.

Dark ones of today, my dream must come true:
All you dark children in the world out there,
Remember my sweat, my pain, my despair.
Remember my years, heavy with sorrow —
And make of those years a torch for tomorrow.
Make of my past a road to the light
Out of the darkness, the ignorance, the night
Lift high my banner out of the dust.
Stand like free men supporting my trust.
Believe in the right, let none push you back.
For I will be with you no white brother
Dares keep down the children of the Negro mother.

"THE PEOPLE WILL BE FREE"
By Ericka Huggins

some people's lives begin easily
end easily and the shit in
between flows easily
not for me
it seems that from birth

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CARTER G. WOODSON: THE "FATHER OF BLACK HISTORY"

Black History Month, originally begun as Black History Week, was founded in 1926 by the late great Black scholar, Dr. Carter G. Woodson. Considered the "Father of Black History," Woodson, along with Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, was instrumental in developing the study of Black history in Ameriva into a respected academic discipline.

The following is an autobiographical sketch of Woodson.

Carter Woodson was born in the year 1875, the son of ex-slave tenant farmers at New Canton, Virginia. Although his family was poverty stricken, young Carter aspired to learning with a zeal unmatched by any but the most gifted scholar.

At 17, he went to work in the coal mines in Huntington, West Virginia, where his career would begin its ascent.

His earlier education had been totally inadequate. Despite the hard work, he studied Latin and English on his own and prepared himself to enter Douglass High School. Woodson passed the examination with such a high score that he was given advanced status which allowed him to receive his diploma in 18 months.

At age 20, he entered the school and graduated with honors at age 22, receiving outstanding marks. Years later he would be principal of the school along with his principalship at Armstrong High School in Washington, D.C.

Between 1901 and 1903, Woodson was sent to the Philipines as a teacher. Five months after his arrival, he was made supervisor.

Woodson had initially received a bachelors degree from Little Berea College, but this was not enough for what he aspired for in life. He took another B.A. at the University of Chicago in 1907 and a Master's at the same institution in 1908.

As was the custom at that time, no person could earn a Ph.D in this country without study abroad. Woodson entered the Sorbonne in France, studying French literature and language. His grades were excellent, and returning to the U.S. in 1909, he received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1912. Woodson's career continued to spiral with two deanships of liberal arts at West Virginia State and Howard University.

However, writing and research, not education, was his true love. Woodson had long been embittered at the outright lies, myths and suppositions in American textbooks concerning Blacks, and had longed to do something about it. People laughed at him when he told them of his plan to study Black life in America. No only Whites but many Blacks thought the idea ludicrous.

In 1915, with only a dream and dogged determination, Woodson started the Association For The Study of Negro Life. On January 1, 1916, *The Journal of Negro History* was born, and despite the constant ridicule, struggle for funds and acceptance, the *Journal* grew and prospered.

In 1926, Woodson received the Coveted Spingarn Award from the NAACP for his successful efforts as a scientific historian and his determination to record Black life in a respected, honored and highly scholarly way.

In February, 1926, Woodson founded Black History Week, which today has become Black History Month. The young



Early picture of Dr. CARTER G. WOODSON, the founder of Black History Month.

poverty stricken coal miner had emerged to become the "Father of Black History" and by the time of his death in 1950, had written several books, notable among them, *The Miseducation of the Negro* and *The History of the Black Church* and had built the *Journal* into one of the most respected scholarly journals in the world. ☐

"The Poetry Of Black America"

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

"THE PEOPLE WILL BE FREE"

i was meant to deal with hard things
like obtaining freedom
but i realize that i am no different
that my life tho filled with tears
and a little suffering is no extraordinary thing
i realize that the hard way is the best way
that change never comes overnight
that i should never hope for my personal freedom nor
anyone's individual freedom till all are free
i realize this and i found out that the black panther
party knew it too — i joined
i am still suffering
we all are
but winds of change are blowing.
i know that the people,
the wretched of this earth,
will be free.

Paul Robeson: "The Power Of Negro Action"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

help is needed and appreciated from wherever it comes, but Negro action cannot be decisive if the advisers and helpers hold the guiding reins.

No matter how well-meaning other groups may be, the fact is our interests are secondary at best with them.

Today such outside controls are a factor in reducing the independence and effectiveness of Negro leadership. I do not have in mind the dwindling group of Uncle Toms who shamelessly serve even an Eastland; happily, they are no longer of much significance.

I have in mind, rather, those practices of Negro leadership that are based upon the idea that it is White power rather than Negro power that must be relied upon. This concept has been traditional since Booker T. Washington, and it has been adhered to by many who otherwise reject all notions of white supremacy.

Dedication and independence — these are the urgent needs. Other qualities of leadership exist in abundance: we have many highly trained men and women, experienced in law, in politics, in civic affairs; we have spokesmen of great eloquence, talented organizers, skilled negotiators.

We should broaden our conception of leadership and see to it that all sections of Negro life are represented on the highest levels. There must be room at the top for people from down below.

I'm talking about the majority of our folks who work in factory and field: they bring with them that down-to-earth view which is the highest vision, and they can hammer and plow in more ways than one. Yes, we need more of them in the leadership, and we need them in a hurry.

We need more of our women in the higher ranks, too, and who should know better than the children of Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and Mary Church Terrell that our womenfolk have often led the way.

Negro womanhood today is giving us many inspiring examples of steadfast devotion, cool courage under fire, and brilliant generalship in our people's struggles; and here is a major source for new strength and militancy in Negro leadership on every level.

But if there are those who ought to be raised to the top, there are others already there who should be retired. I have noted, in another connection, that the Negro people are patient and long-suffering — sometimes to a fault.

MORE DEMANDING

But, in these critical days, we ought to become a little less tolerant, a little more demanding that all Negro leaders "do right."

There are others, honest men beyond all doubt and sincerely concerned with their people's welfare, who seem to feel that it is the duty of a leader to discourage Negro mass action. They think that best results can be achieved by the quiet negotiations they carry on.

And so when something happens that arouses the masses of people, and when the people gather in righteous anger to demand that militant actions be started, such men believe it their duty to cool things off.

Mass action — in political life and elsewhere — is Negro power in motion; and it is the way to win. ☐

"And Ain't I A Woman Too?"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

dar, he say women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wan't a woman! Whar did your Christ come from?" From God and a woman! Man had nothin' to do wid Him."....

If de fust woman God ever made was strong enough to turn de world upside down all alone, dese women togedder ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now dey is asking to do it, de men better let 'em. ☐